

Message Text

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C:JKELLY

NSC:SHADLEY/DELLIOTT

DOD:GHARLOW S/S:FORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 098641

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: POLADS DISCUSSION OF NON-USE ASSURANCES QUESTION

REFS: (A) USNATO 2011; (B) USNATO 2202

1. MISSION SHOULD INDICATE AT APR 29 POLADS MEETING THAT WE HAVE COMPLETED REVIEW OF NON-USE ASSURANCES QUESTION AND HAVE DETERMINED THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED AT PRESENT TIME TO ACCEPT ANY NEW RESTRICTIONS ON RIGHT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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AMONG FACTORS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN USG REVIEW WERE THOSE

MENTIONED BY DUTCH REP (REF A) AT APR 11 POLADS (I.E., DESIRE TO MEET NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES' SECURITY CONCERNS AND TO STRENGTHEN INCENTIVES FOR NPT ADHERENCE HAD TO BE BALANCED AGAINST REQUIREMENT NOT TO UNDERMINE EITHER NATO STRATEGY OR US RESPONSIBILITIES VIS-A-VIS FRIENDS AND ALLIES WORLDWIDE).

2. MISSION MAY POINT OUT THAT NONE OF THE FOUR FORMULAS IDENTIFIED BY DUTCH REP AND EXAMINED BY IMS ARE CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE. IN GENERAL, WE AGREE WITH BRITISH ANALYSIS (REF B) THAT (A) FIRST FORMULA INCOMPATIBLE WITH NATO FLEXIBLE RESPONSE STRATEGY, (B) SECOND FORMULA WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ALLIES WHO, IN EXERCISING RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, HAVE DECIDED TO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATIONED

ON THEIR TERRITORIES AND WOULD RAISE PROBLEMS OF VERIFICATION, AND (C) THIRD AND FOURTH FORMULAS BOTH USE CONCEPT OF ALLIANCE WHICH COULD CREATE AMBIGUITIES ESPECIALLY OUTSIDE EUROPEAN CONTEXT.

3. MISSION SHOULD INDICATE THAT NEW DUTCH FORMULATION (PARA 2, REF B) IS ESSENTIALLY THE OBLIGATION WE ASSUMED IN ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL II OF THE LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY. HOWEVER, THIS DEPARTURE FROM OUR GENERAL POSITION ON NEGATIVE ASSURANCES WAS BASED ON OUR HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICA, THE CREATION OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN THAT REGION, AND ON OUR ASSESSMENT OF SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF UNDERTAKING SUCH A COMMITMENT IN THAT PARTICULAR AREA. IT WAS NOT MEANT TO BE TAKEN AS A PRECEDENT IN OTHER SITUATIONS.

4. MISSION SHOULD INDICATE THAT US POSITION AT NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE WILL BE TO SUPPORT CONTINUED EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, BUT TO QUESTION WHETHER SPECIFIC NON-USE UNDERTAKINGS BY NUCLEAR POWERS WOULD BE A FEASIBLE AND RELIABLE MEANS OF PROMOTING THAT OBJECTIVE. WE WILL MAINTAIN THAT SECURITY OF NNWS IS BEING STRENGTHENED BY SEVERAL BROAD INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY BY NPT ITSELF, BUT ALSO SALT AND OTHER AREAS OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, EFFORTS TO

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SOLVE REGIONAL DISPUTES, ETC. WE WILL ACCORDINGLY RESIST ANY NON-USE PROPOSALS AT REVIEW CONFERENCE THAT GO BEYOND GENERAL OBLIGATIONS WE HAVE ALREADY ASSUMED IN UNITED NATIONS CHARTER OR ATTEMPT TO GENERALIZE OUR SPECIFIC COMMITMENT TO LATIN AMERICAN STATES IN PROTOCOL II.

5. MISSION SHOULD EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR ALLIES WILL TAKE SIMILAR APPROACH TO SECURITY ASSURANCES QUESTION AT

CONFERENCE. YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE HOPE NATO DELEGATIONS WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH IN GENEVA ON THIS ISSUE. KISSINGER

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